

/21 cont. /

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations
separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into
it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with re-
spect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either.
The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination
which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress,
they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sis,
without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely
no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper
from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are
uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, riya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they
were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about
knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of
the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake
minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions.
The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning,
as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3¹ (fictitious example), Adam knows he must
call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate
the word bue (1).

¹ [See Category 116, p. 31--Analyst]

/42 cont. /

601 So-and-so, and So-and-so, can be regarded as sure. On the other
128 hand, we have considered that there was a break in the genealogy
when, going back in time, we arrived at this single datum:
Ma X... was the sister of Ma Y..., for it could be a question
of kinship in the classificatory sense.

No form of birthright existing among the Boni, there is some
uncertainty about the order of birth of brothers and sisters for per-
sons long dead. We have adopted the order kept by oral tradition
without trying to rectify it.

173 In many African populations a special tradition is connected
814 with perpetuating the memory of the founder, at least his name,
829 the place of his grave. With the present-day Boni absolutely
nothing like this is found; they are not concerned in any way with
the true foundress of their lineage; no memory, no legend, not
even a name has come down to them. It even seems as though
these distant ancestors interest them little because they are less
able to act in behalf of their present-day descendants. Indeed,
with each new generation the memory of an ancient one dies out.

193 On our first trip in 1948 we called attention, unfortunately without
[126] noting them down precisely, to /43/ very interesting oral traditions
going back to the time of slavery, especially the names of the
slave-owners who showed themselves to be the most cruel. In
[814] 1952 the last old man who knew them had died; the very memory
of what he had said was already effaced.

829 As a matter of fact, Boni thought, strictly practical and
602 utilitarian, is concerned principally with keeping the memory of
the part of the genealogy indispensable to the living to know their
kinship ties. Memory of women whose posterity has died out and
of men who did nothing remarkable is dead from the second
generation on.

114 Since none of the travelers of the 19th century understood
613 the importance of taking genealogies, it is probable that the names